

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O 102225Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2165  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 4799

EXDIS

CARACAS FOR MRS. CARTER'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, ROSALYNN), BR  
SUBJ: OVERVIEW OF RESULTS OF MRS. CARTER'S VISIT TO BRAZIL

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE AMBASSADOR'S APPRECIATION OF THE  
RESULTS OF MRS. CARTER'S JUNE 6-9 VISIT TO BRAZIL.

2. MRS. CARTER WAS EMINENTLY SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING ACROSS  
TO SENIOR BRAZILIAN OFFICIALS THE BASIC FOREIGN POLICY  
CONCEPTS OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, ESPECIALLY AS THEY  
CONCERN HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR BROAD SENSE, NUCLEAR PROLIFER-  
ATION, LDC-DC COOPERATION IN REDUCING THE GAP BETWEEN RICH  
AND POOR, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF STRENGTHENING INTERACTION AMONG THE  
COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE. THROUGH HER PRESS CONFERENCE,  
THE SIDE COMMENTS TO THE PRESS BY MEMBERS OF HER PARTY, AND  
HER MEETING WITH THE TWO AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN RECIFE,  
THESE PRINCIPLES WERE EFFECTIVELY TRANSMITTED TO THE  
BRAZILIAN PUBLIC AT LARGE.

3. IMPACT ON THE GOB: AS A CLEAR AND DIRECT CONSEQUENCE,  
THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE GOB HAVE BEEN FURTHER SENSITIZED  
TO THE IMPORTANCE PRESIDENT CARTER ATTACHES TO THE QUESTIONS  
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OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. ALTHOUGH THE  
POWERFUL REMINDERS GIVEN BY MRS. CARTER WERE NOT WELCOME TO  
THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT AND ALTHOUGH THE PRESIDENT AND THE  
FOREIGN MINISTER ESSENTIALLY DEFENDED STANDING GOB POSITIONS,  
I BELIEVE THAT, AT LEAST IN ITS ADDRESS TO BASIC HUMAN  
RIGHTS, THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE THE CONSIDERATIONS  
ADVANCED BY MRS. CARTER CAREFULLY INTO ACCOUNT. IN THIS

SENSE, IT MAY WELL BE THAT PRESIDENT GEISEL'S OWN BASICALLY POSITIVE ATTITUDES WILL BE REINFORCED SO THAT HE WILL BE BETTER ABLE TO WITHSTAND PRESSURES FROM CONSERVATIVE AND HARD-LINE SECTORS OF THE REGIME. SIMILARLY, MRS. CARTER'S MESSAGE ON HUMAN RIGHTS WILL ENHANCE SILVEIRA'S ABILITY TO ARGUE THAT INTERNATIONAL REPERCUSSIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WHEN RETROGRADE STEPS IN THE SPHERE OF POLITICAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS ARE UNDER CONSIDERATION. THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT ABOUT THE NEGATIVE REACTIONS TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS EMPHASIS IN MRS. CARTER'S VISIT BY HARD-LINE SECTORS. MANIFESTATIONS OF SUCH REACTIONS ARE ALREADY EVIDENT IN PRESS AND CONGRESSIONAL CIRCLES LINKED TO CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE SUGGESTIONS THAT THE CIA FABRICATED THE STUDENTS' LETTER AND IN INDIGNANT REFERENCES TO THE PUBLICITY ATTENDING MRS. CARTER'S INTERVIEWS WITH THE MISSIONARIES.

4. ON THE NUCLEAR ISSUE, MY READING IS THAT THE GOB DID NOT LIKE WHAT IT WAS BEING TOLD. MRS. CARTER OBVIOUSLY GOT ACROSS THAT NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN GENERAL AND THE TRANSFER OF SENSITIVE TECHNOLOGY SPECIFICALLY CONTINUED TO BE PRIME CONCERNS OF PRESIDENT CARTER. BEFORE THE VISIT THE GOB HAD CONSIDERED ITSELF AHEAD ON POINTS IN THE EVALUATION OF THE ISSUE AND, IN SILVEIRA'S PERSON, HAD CULTIVATED THE IDEA THAT THE MEETING WITH SECRETARY VANCE IN PARIS HAD CONFIRMED THAT THE USG WAS BACKING OFF. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE GOB WAS WARY OF FURTHER USG ACTIONS. MRS. CARTER'S COMMENTS HAD THE EFFECT, I JUDGE, OF INCREASING THE WARINESS AND REDUCING THE ATTITUDE OF CONFIDENCE. MRS. CARTER'S SUGGESTION THAT BRAZIL ADHERE FULLY TO TLAELOLCO  
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TREATY HIT A VULNERABLE SPOT IN THE BRAZILIAN NUCLEAR DEFENSES. GEISEL'S STATEMENT THAT HE WOULD GIVE FURTHER THOUGHT TO THE QUESTION MAY BE ONLY A SOFT AND POLITE NEGATIVE, BUT IT MAY ALSO REFLECT AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF A WEAKNESS. (THE EMBASSY WILL BE ADDRESSING FURTHER STEPS ON TLAELOLCO IN A FORTHCOMING TELEGRAM ON NEXT STEPS IN THE NUCLEAR PROBLEM.)

5. THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE GOB AT MRS. CARTER'S DIRECT ADDRESS TO SENSITIVE ISSUES IN THE RELATIONSHIP THAT THE GOB DOES NOT LIKE TO HEAR ABOUT MAY HAVE BEEN INCREASED BY AN APPARENT TENDENCY BEFORE THE VISIT TO DOUBT OUR AND WASHINGTON'S NOTIFICATIONS THAT SHE INTENDED TO DEAL WITH SUBSTANCE. THE FACT THAT SHE DID SO, AND DID SO WITH IMPRESSIVE SKILL, INTELLIGENCE AND PERSISTENCE, MAY HAVE TAKEN THE GOB LEADERSHIP ABACK. IN ADDITION, THERE WERE SOME MIDDLE-LEVEL INTIMATIONS TO THE BRAZILIAN PRESS JUST BEFORE HER ARRIVAL THAT SHE MIGHT BE BRINGING AN INVITATION TO GEISEL FOR A WASHINGTON VISIT. TO THE EXTENT THAT THOSE

INTIMATIONS MAY HAVE REPRESENTED HOPES HIGHER UP, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN DISAPPOINTMENT. AGAINST THESE CONSIDERATIONS THAT SUGGEST GOB UNEASINESS WITH THE VISIT LIES THE FACT THAT GEISEL AND SILVEIRA WELCOMED THE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED THEM BY MRS. CARTER TO TRANSMIT DIRECTLY AND PARTICULARLY AUTHORITATIVELY TO PRESIDENT CARTER THE GOB'S ATTITUDES, POSITIONS AND CONCERNS, PARTICULARLY THOSE THAT DIVERGE FROM OURS.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2166  
AMEMBASSY CARACAS NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 4799

EXDIS

CARACAS FOR MRS. CARTER'S PARTY

6. IMPACT ON THE BRAZILIAN PUBLIC: THERE ARE ALREADY CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT MRS. CARTER AND THE POSITIONS THAT SHE EXPRESSED AND THAT HER ACTIONS EXEMPLIFIED HAVE HAD, IN THE NET, A VERY POSITIVE PUBLIC IMPACT IN TERMS OF THE IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES AND WHAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION STANDS FOR. THE ENORMOUS PUBLICITY GIVEN TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS OF THE VISIT HAS CERTAINLY ENCOURAGED THE MANY BRAZILIANS WHO ARE CONCERNED ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RETURN TO A GOVERNMENT OF LAW. THE REACTIONS WE ARE SEEING FROM CONSERVATIVE SECTORS IN THE FORM OF ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT THE STUDENTS' LETTER AND SNARLS DIRECTED AT THE PUBLICITY GIVEN THE TALK WITH THE MISSIONARIES ATTEST TO A FEAR OF THE BROAD EFFECTIVENESS OF MRS. CARTER'S MESSAGE. ALONG THIS LINE, ONE OF THE IMPORTANT CONSEQUENCES OF THE VISIT, TO MY MIND, IS A FURTHER INCREASE OF US CREDIBILITY AMONG SECTORS OF BRAZILIAN OPINION OUTSIDE THE GOVERNMENT WHICH CAN BE CRITICAL IN THE MIDDLE-TERM POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY.

7. IMPACT OF MRS. CARTER AS A PERSON: IN PERSONAL TERMS, THE VISIT WAS AN UNALLOYED SUCCESS FOR MRS. CARTER. HER INTELLIGENCE, PREPARATION, QUIET FIRMNESS, POISE AND WARMTH  
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MADE AN EXCELLENT IMPRESSION ON HER OFFICIAL INTERLOCUTORS AS WELL AS ON THE PUBLIC. IN HER PRESS CONFERENCE SHE HANDLED WITH GREAT SKILL A SERIES OF VERY LOADED QUESTIONS AN INCAUTIOUS ANSWER TO ANY ONE OF WHICH COULD HAVE, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, BEEN DESTRUCTIVE. SOME BRAZILIAN JOURNALISTS, THIRSTING FOR A FULL-BLOWN US-BRAZILIAN CONFRONTATION, CHARACTERIZED SOME OF HER RESPONSES AS EVASIVE, BUT FOR US THAT JUDGMENT WAS REALLY A TRIBUTE TO HER ABILITY.

8. TO SUM UP: IN TERMS OF GETTING THE MESSAGE OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AND THE IMAGE OF THE US, ACROSS TO THE GOB AND THE PUBLIC AT LARGE, THE VISIT WAS ENTIRELY SUCCESSFUL. SINCE THE MESSAGES ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND NUCLEAR ISSUES ARE UNPALATABLE TO THE PRESENT BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH, MOREOVER, IS ON THE POLITICAL DEFENSIVE INTERNALLY, THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS ON THE OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIP ARE PROBABLY NEUTRAL AT BEST AND MILDLY NEGATIVE AT WORST. IT WILL TAKE THE GOB TIME TO DIGEST MRS. CARTER'S VISIT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS, BOTH INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL. THEREFORE, THE LONGER-TERM CONSEQUENCES, WHICH WILL BE POWERFULLY AFFECTED BY THE ON-GOING PROCESS OF DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATION OF THE ISSUES BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS, CANNOT YET BE ASSESSED.  
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